1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 galɔ'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ɛwɛ'we is truly Washo, the galɔ'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[a] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[b] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[431] A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[532] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ɛwɛ'we with him and she consents, they get married.

841 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

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[a] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[b] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

> The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.
>
> As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.
>
> The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ɛwɛ'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 172 f.

covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approximately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs. Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were dressed alike.

Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point, consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not stay after midnight.

The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls of her class. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others continued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body with red paint 'brought down from the mountains.' He then came out of the side of the house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 140--Analyst]

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XXX International Congress of Americanists

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMO

Traits*
present
absent

	North-East California H. E. Driver 6; 2, 1941	North-West California H. E. Driver 1; 6, 1939 (tribes not listed separately)		South Sierra Nevada H. E. Driver 1; 2, 1937 (tribes not listed separately)		
				Yokuts, Mono		Ute, Kern River, Panamint Owens Valley, Paiute
		some	some	some	some	
Public Recognition		+	–	+		–
In dwelling		+	–			
Outdoors		+	–	+	–	
Night		+	–	+	–	
For all girls		+	–	+	–	
Certain girls only						
For one girl at time		+	–	+	–	
Rite conducted by chief				+	–	–
Duration						
1 day or less number of days		1 to 10		+	–	
Singing						
Singers paid or given gifts						
Singing, no dancing		+	–		–	
Feast for all	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancing		+	–	+	–	
Group dancing		+	–			
Men dance	+					
Women dance	+					
Each sex separately	+					
Both sexes together	+	+				
Dancers in circle	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers abreast in line	+	+	–	+	–	
Girl dances	+	+	–			
1 or 2 persons support girl	+	+	–	+	–	
Head rattle	+					
Split-stick rattle	+					
Cocoon rattle		+	–			
Gourd rattle				+	–	
				+	–	
Girl ceremonially washed		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially painted		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially tattooed				+	–	
2 days in roasting pit						
Trench at girl's rite						
Sexual license						

*Trait list is taken from the Culture Element Distribution lists of the University of California Anthropological R

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassière and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the boederline between the two States, is the centre of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the *pïñon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practised, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

pared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless. . . . In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers.

According to this informant, a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses, but according to another informant subsequent menses were not observed at all. Still another informant recollected that dances had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-night ceremony was normal. The first informant said that after the dance the girl goes out to swim early in the morning or is washed all over. Lowie also reports a ceremony he himself witnessed and a ceremony reported by Lillian Eichler in *The Customs of Mankind*, both of which, with slight variations, are similar to the one told him by his informant. These, then, with some slight variations, are very similar to the one reported to me by Mrs. Brengle as witnessed by her in 1929–30.

In spite of the fact that Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance as given by the Washo was perhaps related to the Shoshonean to the east, Harold E. Driver[4] shows on maps 11, 12, and 13 no public recognition of menstrual periods by the Shoshonean people to the east. Omer C. Stewart[5] mentions first period observances, but no specific puberty dance for the Paiute. He does, however, mention a special dance held at the first and second menses for the Washo, which he uses as a comparative group. He says everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother, who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During the four-day confinement the girl eats nothing. Julian H. Steward[6] reports no specific puberty dance for the Nevada Shoshone.

When we look west to the neighbouring California tribes, we find that while the Maidu and Miwok have no dance in developed form as stated by Kroeber,[2] they do hold a ceremony to mark the puberty of a girl. The ritual among the northern valley Maidu consisted only of five nights of singing; there was no dance. Men and women participated in the singing, which lasted all night. At the conclusion of the singing period a feast was given, and the parents were required to give away anything they were asked for. Among the hill Maidu a dance accompanied the singing. In the mountains both men and women danced, and the ceremony lasted ten days and was repeated in full a month later. Specific details are omitted for lack of space.

Among the Miwok the ceremony is less developed. Kroeber[2] states that there are four men dancers, painted with red streaks down the face, but wearing no feathers or costumes, who give a short performance on and about the drum in the assembly house. It evidently was part of larger ceremonies that had other purposes. Originally, however, it was made for the girl, and probably done over her as she lay for four days in a trench dug in the floor of her home.

Table 1 shows clearly the close relationships by traits to the puberty ceremonies of other California tribes.

Therefore, from these facts it would seem that the Washo puberty dance is related to that of the California tribes, and in this respect we have a relationship to the west.

Since this is an important ceremony in the tribe and because the Washo have the many

[See category 11b, pp. 138-139 — Analyst]

224 [136] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories [177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs. [538]

● [533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] [624] [791] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. [533] I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

224 789

[763] [186] [114] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178 Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that [237] most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that [484] in their own youth trips to California after deer were [136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no [535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. 224 624 There was, however, a special leader who directed the hunt. In later times these men were credited with 787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when 791 it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

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[For information on Washo-Peyote music and song structure, see category 116, pp. 617-640.]

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(777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
(224) contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

(535) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
(574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
(856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
(824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-
(526) relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
(778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
(533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.'... Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

2 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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[202] [574] On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a symbol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was invited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

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535 [778] By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

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533 535 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔó·wî·yá·ki ʔi, ʔímlǎ·hô·ʔiya, nélonáne, and héyaya.

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535 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéhe? -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

[178] [562] As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (te?wé?we?, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women.

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 60 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose.

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women.

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (le?wé?we?) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to

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contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

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of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[29] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[30]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[31] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[32]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[29] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[30] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[31] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[32] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scarce; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[11] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

[11] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles." The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life." So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[a] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.

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some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[46] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[46] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[47] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

[46] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[47] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[46] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	13 T	K-A	Klo	Com	Klo	Ab 8	Del	Del	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Uin	Gro	W-P	Tem				
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−											
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•	+	•	+		−					
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+				
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+		•	+	+		+	−	+	+	•	+	•	−					
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	•	+	+				
161. Rule against women singing	+	• −	+	+		(+)	+	−	+	+	+	•	•	+	•	−	+				
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• −	+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc	+	+	+	+	+	• +	+			+	•	+	•	+	•	+	+				
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		• +	• −	• +	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)		+	+	+	+				
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	• +	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+				
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•	+	•	−	+				
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•	+	•	−	+				
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	−	−			+	+		+		−	+				
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	• +	+	+	+	−	+	• +	+	+	−	+	+	−	+				
174. By women		−	−	• +	• −	−	−	−	−	• +	−	−	−	−	−	−	+				
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	• +	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	•	+	+				
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•	+	−	+	+	+	+				

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instances (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).